776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Driberg, Nyasi is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree, the meat to eaten at a little distance away.(1)

[777] Johnston states that the Lan believe in a supreme god, Chiong, which is the name for the sun.(2) Stam, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Lan worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Lan beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost (*jwiem*, pl. *jwiemdi*) and the Lan methods of dealing with it. *Jwiem* is the Lan equivalent of the Shilluk *cim*, the Acholi *lwem*, Lango *tipu* and the Anuak *mrimi*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living, the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any of these may become a *jwiem*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The Lan regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortune, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5)

755 775 The diviner (*ajwogo*) discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appropriate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *magolo*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *magolo* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jwilo* is called in; on to sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 783 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been murdered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jagat* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Driberg, *The Northern Lwoo*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Stam, *Anthropos*, 1930, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.43
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.153, p.86.

1: Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 FL11 Lan FL11

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the procedure of rain-making among the Lan. However stress that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a certain priest who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Crowe-Pritchard mentions that the Lan rain-maker is called the *mo dorh* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jakobi*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Banyo seem to have a higher reputation than Lan *jakobi* and are often consulted.

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a "deeper magic" (*ombogo*) which, among the Ganz tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth.

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances.

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting

(1) Rowan, *The Northern Banyo*, 1915, p.202.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.66. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

[132] trying to work their way into these channels got caught in the traps. On leaving the end of Koch Bay we made for the mouth of the Mitio river. On the way we were much interested in the performances of [134] a kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) which flew for some time parallel to the boat and a considerable height above the water. At intervals it would spot a fish, poise itself for a second or two, then drop like a stone perpendicularly into the Lake head first with a splash, to rise again [133] almost immediately and continue its flight. The Mitio is known higher up as the Kipsonoi and Sondo, but is called the Mitio when it passes through the gorge in the escarpment and comes out into the Lake plain. From there it runs through the level country at first between high solid banks, but as it nears the Lake these disappear and are succeeded by dense papyrus swamps. The channel is exceedingly tortuous, in some cases nearly doubling back on itself, and the total distance from the gorge to the Lake is about seven miles. We took the boat about five or six miles up till we grounded on a muddy spot [136] after which we returned down stream. Several crocodiles (Dholuo, Nyang') were sighted on the way up and one varanus (Kalagwana) which is said to eat fish. When we started to float down with the engine running very quietly, we saw more crocodiles lying out on the mud banks, especially on the higher reaches of the river.

These reptiles must destroy vast quantities of fish and as very few of them are shot they are presumably increasing. It took about an hour to get back to the mouth of the river and two hours from there to Kisumu. I saw no otters (Dholuo, Mandebalo) on this trip. Some years ago I saw two swimming in the Mitio river.

The following are the names of the various fish found in the Lake, with a brief description of each of those I have seen. The list has no claim to be exhaustive.

(1) Sirwa. A big fish with a nose and mouth like a trunk. Inhabits the Lake. It is not very popular as food. It is [153] rarely taken in nets or on hooks. A few are taken in traps. Scales very small. Has firm flesh. The natives think that they get fish from eating it. —*Mormyrus sp.*

(2) Nyasa. A carp-like fish. Firm flesh which keeps well. This is the principal food fish of the Kavirondo Gulf and is sent to Nairobi in considerable quantities. It is extremely like the Mbero. —*Tilapia sp.*

(3) Mbero. A good eating fish and very difficult to distinguish from the Nyasa. The only difference appears to be that it is a bit darker and the tops of the spins are reddish. It does not keep fresh so long. A small variety of this fish, possibly its fry, is called Obidi. —*Tilapia variabilis.*

9: Shaw C-5 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Lee FL11

585 (59) bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*yaopanyo*-bachelors) may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugenya, Asembo, Kadimo and Ugunja the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the elder men living in the dala, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the elder men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This connection was called *kichori* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the [59] bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugenya, Sakwa, Kadimo, and Ugunja on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *kichori* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The lumpy was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *kudowodo*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 591 After the *kiriga* was over the girl was regarded as having finally passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the cook-hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachiera*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were 585 in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from [59] her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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CHAPTER XXVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, WARFARE, INDUSTRIES, RELIGION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Treatment of the sick—ghostly possession—death and mourning—death of a wife—manner of conducting warfare—treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy—agricultural pursuits—cow-keeping—oxen used as riding animals—mode of building—religious beliefs—terms of relationships.

Treatment of the sick. Sickness is thought to be due to one of two causes: it may be, and the people think most frequently is, the result of magic which has been worked by some person who wishes to give pain or even to cause death because of a grievance, real or imaginary; or it may be due to some ghost. Under either circumstance, when a serious case of sickness occurs, the family seek the aid of a medicine-man who by his various tests and incantations discovers the cause; and, in a case where magic has been worked, he not only discovers the cause but also discloses the name of the culprit, who is thereupon sought and asked to give his motive for afflicting the sick person, and is paid to release him from the spell. Should the man have intended to kill the other because he has suffered some discourtesy or received some offence at his hands, he would probably have speared his shadow, so that the sick person will die unless the spell or magic is removed. Again, it may be that some magic has been worked and certain objects have been hidden near the house which are causing the sickness; these have to be removed and the spell broken before any drugs or treatment will avail the sick man. The perpetrator will only remove these when his grievance has been settled and he has received the needful compensation. In the case of a ghost, the medicine-man will tell which ghost is working the trouble and why it is thus causing sickness.

753 ● 755 [754] 753 755 775

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luc FL11

753 755 775 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order 769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 775 761 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifestation of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

11: Harvmann M-S (ca. 1930) 1938 FLII Lan FLII

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, while for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a doorway, which is put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yuoyo lit)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (*ritinde*) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of these huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, *e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home*; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the women in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewed for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwomo lit)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the round marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a coarse one-strand one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody goes

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of
769 deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway
●753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd
and placed on the grave.

769 On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First
however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of
273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on
the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground
and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted
and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained
off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout,
after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another
visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed,
this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*.
These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-
vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of
the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it
is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted
wimbi is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the
relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the
grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some
of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs
alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains
hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations,
friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus
earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed
for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway
where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the
chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there,
the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore
eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the
village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to
spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die; and doing so his
eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch.
No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village
they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round
about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by
their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
FL11 Luo FL11

775 171 **133** In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 755 775 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 626 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jociendi*), a word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

775 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives; and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse 626 smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

●753 Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the 755 cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular 775 ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compen- [787] sate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a 775 magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's home- stead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86 c]

13: Odede I-5 (no date) 1942 FL11 Luo FL11

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

Veterinary Department, Maseno.

The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

231 The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with 521 regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome [753] than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that [511] women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

231 The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

262 Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo [272 unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is 753] not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

*Mr. Walter Odede is a Jaluo who has passed through Makerere College and the Entebbe Veterinary School.—*Editor.*

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

843 262 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to [753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

A dietary restriction may also result from the instruction [756] of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment [784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 278 177 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expectant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for killing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 [177] [516] *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations, such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.